// THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES LET US ALL UNITE."

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NEW YORK STREET VENDERS.

A Day in the Ghetto, Once Seen, Never Forgotten.

You may read of an ocean voyage, you may peruse the best books on travel, you may lay the book down and congratulate yourself that you know as much about an ocean trip as though you had crossed it in person. This was what I once thought, but one must have experienced the sensation of being on a great ocean liner, you must feel the roll of the mighty billows beneath you, you must count the stars at night in mid-ocean, with only the firmament above and the vast expanse of water below, and hear the throb of the hearts of the mighty engines, and dream of the continent which you are leaving and the one that you are nearing, or see the sun rise and cast its rays upon the broad expanse of an ocean waste; you must feel that calmness of spirit and relaxation of nervous tension which only an ocean voyage brings. To be able to realize a storm at sea, you must lie in your berth and hear the great waves dash madly above you, feel the ship's "dip" and wonder if she will ever "right" herself again. One must be ocean-tossed, storm-beaten, to know what it is; at least this was my experience.

Turning from the ocean of water to the ocean of humanity it is the same thing. One must see it to realize what it is. Many of you have doubtless read of the poverty of New York City's "submerged" population; of its Ghetto population; of what the settlement workers are doing to relieve the poor of the East side. But in order to get a true conception of what it is, you must come to New York City and stroll along Hester, Clayto, lower Bowery, Broom and a few other streets. You must witness these waves of poverty as they roll from the packed tenements up from the basements, cesments, upon the narrow, filthy sidewalks, along which stand long lines of garbage cans, over-running with their ill-assorted contents, which in hot weather emit odors at once disgusting and unhealthy. The narrow streets and sidewalks fairly swarm with dirty children and frowsy-haired women. The more poverty-stricken the appearance of the women the greater the number of children they seem to have clinging to their skirts. Along against the sidewalks of the Ghetto are push-carts from which venders offer for sale practically every article under the sun—dishes, glassware, bric-a-brac, hardware, dry-goods of every description, groceries, fruits, vegetables, meats—in short, everything from matches—two boxes for a cent—to a set of furniture. Talk about your streets of Cairo in Egypt, or Jerusalem, etc., to be seen in World's Fairs; they are as nothing compared to the streets of the Ghetto of New York City. There are more people living on a given space in New York City than any other spot on earth, not excepting Pekin, China. Mercy, though! One doesn't realize the vast numbers of people living in this city until between 5 and 6 p. m. Then the tall factories belch forth their quota of human beings; then along the streets the long procession begins to wend its weary way; men, women and children (but not many of the latter) crowd the sidewalks until fully one-third must take to the streets because room on the sidewalk is out of the question. This excessively crowded condition doesn't last long, however. Very soon the great tenements have swallowed what the factories emitted.

Hurrying home, these people partake of their meagre meal in stuffy little rooms, retire early in order to rest for the next day's round of toil. This is the routine of life of hundreds of thousands of New York City's population.

This is the down-town conditions. Up town, where dwell the rich robbers, masters of slaves, how different is all this! Presto, change! All is wealth, luxury, quietude and ease. Meanwhile the spirit of revolution is making progress, slow but sure. Some day retributive justice will take a hand; it will reach upward and tear down that which is, base, vile, despotic, plutocratic and domineering. Reaching downward, she will lift the fallen, despoiled, robbed and weak. We will not then have rich idlers or poverty-stricken workers, but a fully rounded out humanity. Our "slum" districts are a curse to our civilization. They must go!

What beautiful lives these teeming millions might live if only that spirit, "do unto others as you would have others do unto you," would prevail.

L. E. P.

AS MR. PARRY SEES IT.

When we are Socialists:

A citizen shall be given a State number, instead of a name.

He shall receive from the State kitchen three-quarters of a pound of food per day.

No citizen shall weigh over one hundred and ten pounds, or exceed five feet in height.

Male and female citizens shall wear as raiment the common scarlet garment provided by the State.

All citizens shall rise each morning at the ringing of the State bell.

All citizens shall pray for sixty seconds each morning at the ringing of the State prayer bell.

The speech of each citizen is limited to one thousand words per day.

The step of each citizen is limited to ten inches.

Each citizen shall laugh aloud once every half hour.

No citizen shall snore in the public dormitories.

All food eaten by citizens in the public dining-rooms shall be chewed nine times on the right side of the jaw and nine times on the left, that perfect equality in mastication shall be preserved.

The finger nails of citizens shall be cut a uniform length.

All children of citizens shall be placed in the State public nurseries until the age of seven years.

All children over seven years shall be placed in the disciplinary asylums, and taught the State code of rules, until the age of fourteen.

All citizens over the age of fourteen shall be placed in State public dormitories, and made to contribute their share of labor in State factories.

A citizen shall be officially notified by an Inspector of Marriage when the State has appointed either a wife or a husband.

Notification must be made four days before marriage.

State Inspectors shall be present at the first meeting of contracting parties, and see that the law is obeyed.

One kiss shall be exchanged by contracting parties.

At the end of three years, the State will grant a divorce at the request of either one or both parties, and new persons shall be appointed in marriage to each one.

Any social citizen who is unsocialistic shall be thrown to the kraken.—*New York World.*

PHOTOS.

Subscribers write: "Can you tell me where I can obtain photos of the five Anarchitss, executed in Chicago in 1887." We have received quite a number of inquiries for photos of our comrades. If we receive one hundred orders for the photos, we will have them made, all on one large plate, beautifully mounted, as we have excellent photos of all the comrades. The price of the photos, postage included, will be 50 cents. Orders will be received at Liberator office. If one hundred orders are not received, the money will be returned to the sender.

We have already received several orders.

THE HISTORY OF THE CASE.

Philanthropist and Gifted Writer On Social Subjects.

By Robert Hunter.

Steunenberg, ex-Governor of Idaho, was killed on December 30 last by the explosion of a bomb. Orchard, once a miner and a member of the Western Federation of Miners, was arrested. He was interviewed daily for about three weeks by McParland, the manager of the Western Division of the Pinkerton Detective Agency.

On a Friday evening in January the Governor of Idaho, through his agent, requested the Governor of Colorado to sign extradition papers authorizing the transfer of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from the jurisdiction of Colorado to the jurisdiction of Idaho. Moyer is president of the Western Federation of Miners. Haywood is secretary and treasurer. Pettibone is a business man who was formerly a member of the Federation.

The Governor of Colorado, McDonald, a mine owner, signed the extradition papers and delivered them to the Sheriff of the county in which Denver is situated. The Sheriff kept them in his possession all the next day, which was Saturday. It was not till almost 12 o'clock Saturday night that he served the papers upon the accused men.

Hurried unexpectedly to jail, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone protested against extradition. They demanded a conference with their lawyers, for the purpose of making a plea in court against the legality of the process. Not only were they refused a conference with their lawyers, but they were also prevented from communicating with their wives.

At 5 o'clock in the morning a special train, provided by the Union Pacific, carried the prisoners northward from Denver. No stops were made at towns. Locomotives were changed at secluded side-tracks. Arriving in Idaho, Bulkley Wells, Adjutant-General of Colorado, a mine owner, lodged the prisoners in the jail at Boise.

It was announced that Orchard had made a confession. In this confession he accused Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone of conspiring with him to murder Steunenberg.

When a crime of this sort is committed whom is one to suspect—men who have hitherto proved themselves innocent of the commission of crime, or men who have hitherto proved guilty? Do we doubt the word of men who, under their trying circumstances, have proved their innocence beyond question or do we doubt the word of men who, under the most favorable circumstances, have been beyond question proved guilty?

Many previous attempts have been made to fasten criminal conspiracies on the Western Federation of Miners. Immediately after the Sun and Moon explosion at Idaho Springs, immediately after the attempt to wreck a train on the Florence and Cripple Creek Railway by drawing the spikes from the track, and immediately after the murder of thirteen persons by an explosion in the Independence railway station, these being the three most notorious cases of violence during the course of the strikes which began in 1903, serious attempts were made to convict the officers of the Federation. All these attempts were failures. No member of the Western Federation has been convicted of any crime since the strikes began. On the other hand, many detectives in the employ of the Mine Owners' Association have been sent to prison convicted of crimes ranging from larceny to homicide.

Although the whole machinery of justice is in the hands of the mine owners, although Moyer was kept in a bull-pen for three months without trial, and although indictments have been drawn in large numbers and with endless repetitions against the officers of the Federation, the court records show only a long succession of failures to convict and of failures even to carry the cases through to the point of a verdict.

Union men are again accused of a most outrageous crime. And, as they have in previous instances shown themselves innocent, I am convinced they will also show themselves innocent in this instance.

But two friends in whose word I have absolute confidence, have gone to Denver especially to investigate this matter and both report that there is a conspiracy on the part of the mine owners or of their agents to hang these men in order to disrupt the union. This is strong language, but when an association has been caught doing that sort of thing before, one begins to believe it may again be guilty.

This is the story of a previous confession of a similar character: H. H. McKinney, in December, 1903, made a confession to a detective of the Mine Owners' Association charging three prominent members of the Western Federation of Miners as active participants or accessories before the fact in two attempts at train wrecking.

Later he repented and made another confession stating that he had been promised immunity from punishment, $1,000 in cash and transportation for himself and family to any part of the world if he would make it appear that the three innocent men were implicated in this terrible crime. It was finally proved that McKinney and agents of the Mine Owners' Association had themselves committed these crimes. (See Carrol D. Wright Labor Troubles in Colorado, pp. 189-190).

When an association offers a man, known to have committed an outrageous crime, immunity from punishment, a thousand dollars in money and transportation for himself and family to any part of the world, provided that he will bear false witness against perfectly innocent union men—so that they can be imprisoned or hung—that association is capable of anything.

It looks from such light as we have on the present case that the mine owners are up to their old methods, namely, of conspiring to implicate innocent men because they are union leaders.

THE WOLF AT THE DOOR.

There's a haunting horror near us
That nothing drives away—
Fierce lamping eyes at nightfall,
A crouching shade by day;
There's a whining at the threshold,
There's a scratching at the floor—
To work! To work! In Heaven's name!
The wolf is at the door!

The day was long, the night was short,
The bed was hard and cold.
Still weary are the little ones,
Still weary are the old.
We are weary in our cradles,
From our mother's toil untold,
We are born to hoarded weariness,
And some to hoarded gold.

We will not rise! We will not work;
Nothing the day can give
Is half so sweet as an hour of sleep;
Better to sleep than live!
What power can stir these heavy limbs?
What hope these dull hearts swell?
What fear more cold, what pain more sharp
Than the life we know so well?

To die like a man by lead or by steel
Is nothing that we should fear;
No human death would be worse to feel
Than the life that holds us here.
But this is a fear that no heart can face—
A fate no man can dare—
To be run to the earth and die by the teeth
Of the gnawing monster there.

The slow, relentless, padding step
That never goes astray—
The rustic in the underbrush—
The shadow in the way—
The straining fight—the long pursuit—
The steady gain behind—
Death wearied man and tireless brute,
And the struggle wild and blind!

There's a hot breath at the key-hole
And a tearing as of teeth!
Well do I know the bloodshot eyes
And the dripping jaws beneath!
There's a whining at the threshold—
There's a scratching at the floor—
To work! To work! In Heaven's name!
The wolf is at the door.

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEAL OF THE AGE.

The rights of the individual are sacred. Man existed long before governments. His birthright is the soil on which he must live.

* * *

What is the revolutionary ideal of the age, the ideal towards which the spirit of the age is tending, the ideal to which the best and bravest throughout the world aspire? It is the principle of equal justice to each and all, in all the relations of life and through all the ramifications of society. It is equal liberty, equal opportunities for growth, for progress for every human being, not excepting even one The principle of justice is eternal immutable, unchangeable. It is not one thing today and another tomorrow, not one thing in Europe and something else in Asia or Africa.

Man existed long before society, as society existed long before government. The rights of the individual are sacred. They can neither be alienated, nor abdicated nor transferred. Society is but an aggregation of individuals, and it is sacred only in virtue of the sacredness of the rights of the individuals of which it is composed The only legitimate basis of society is that of free association for the equal advantage, for the mutual benefit of all its members. The violation of the rights of a single individual is an act of treason, is an act of war against humanity Right and privilege are the extremes of the world-wide struggle which has existed for ages, and which will continue till right is triumphant throughout the world. It is the great struggle between truth and falsehood, purity and corruption, justice and oppression. Between these principles there is eternal war, and where principle is involved, compromise is impossible This struggle embraces the whole civilized world. While the holy spirit of liberty is raising up the toiling millions, filling their souls with faith, hope and charity, til their bosoms swell with the love of freedom and the brotherhood of the human race.

We have said that where principle is involved compromise is impossible. Take the question of political power. Political power belongs to the people, to a whole people, not a part, not to a majority, however large. The people is sovereign, but its sovereignty rests on the equal rights of the individual. If these are violated the sovereignty of the whole is destroyed. We are told that society can grant rights and confer privileges; but society has no rights to grant, and privileges rest on usurpation. Political power, sovereign authority, belongs then to the people, the whole people, in virtue of the sacred and inalienable rights of each individual. Therefore all superior government, whatever its name, its power, or its origin, that is external to and separate from the people is usurpation, as all usurpation is a crime against humanity. All history and the facts of today prove that government by representation is the negation of the sovereignty of the people and is simply usurpation. By the sovereignty of the people is meant the government of the people by the people and for the people. All else is but usurpation

Take the question of the land. The nationalization of the land is now admitted as a principle by many leading men. But we are told that at the present it is inexpedient, that as a measure it is impracticable, that it is not yet within the range of practical politics. All such arguments are absurd. It is simply a question of education, of intellectual development, of moral courage, of right, of justice, of political integrity. Then it is said that nationalization means confiscation. The assertion is a contradiction in terms. The nationalization of the land is the recognition of the right to life of the people, and of every individual of the people, the right of each to liberty, to dignity, to independence. The retention then of the land as private property, in any shape or form or under any name whatsoever, is to deny the people's right to life, is to deprive them of liberty and independence, is to destroy the dignity of the individual and the glory of the nation. But the whole system of private property in land rests on confiscation. And why should the people of today recognize the confiscation of ages, the robbery of the present and the plunder of future generations? Here again compromise is impossible. Justice demands the nationalization of the land as the patrimony of the whole people, pure and simple and free from all conditions. Would this be confiscation? Confiscation exists today throughout the civilized world. Why should it be longer tolerated? As a crime against humanity who will dare defend it?

But even with the nationalization of the land the mass of the people could never be socially free without the nationalization of the currency and the instruments of labor. Not only must land lordism go but capitalism with it. These monster evils have ever been a curse and a scourge to the human race. These have crushed to the earth the worker in every age and in every country. But the people will ere long combine to sweep away forever those twin curses of humanity. As for the instruments of labor, they belong to the people and can never rightly be separated from the people. They represent the labors of all past generations, and belong to the present to be used and improved for the benefit of all and then bequeathed to the future.

But then the question of property. What is property? Is it taxes, rents and profits? These are the great sources of robbery. Property is the sign and the fruit of work and whatever rests on any other foundation than that of labor, and apart from rents profits and taxes, is not property but plunder in the strictest sense of the word. The revolutionary ideal then does not include the destruction of property but the extinction of robbery, whatever its origin, its name or conditions.

Let then the good and true of every class and of every nation grasp hands in the name of the Social Revolution.

A. A.

GOSSIP.

Labor never lacks a political Moses.

If bread were mined the miners would be starved just the same.

"Give me liberty or give me death!" Better take liberty and let the other fellows have death.

"Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" was not originally intended for ninety-nine parts of pursuit to one of happiness—seen in others.

The president's devotion to civil service reform reminds us of Artemus Ward's enthusiasm for the government during the Civil war—even if it required the sacrifice of all his wife's relatives.

A PITIFUL MICROCOSM.

A writer in "World's Work" rhapsodizes over "the luxuries of ocean travelling." He ought to try a course in the steerage. Nowhere is the snobbery of social distinctions more manifest than at sea. With a pit of death yawning night and day beneath the feet, thrown together on a few planks tossed by wild waters, with the circling horizon forever symbolizing equality, to have dress coats and sybaritic feasting in the saloon, and pig-at-the-trough scrambling in the steerage, is about as pitiful a microcosm of capitalistic society as one could well imagine. —*Brisbane Worker.*

The sound of the policeman's club on the striker's head is only the echo of the vote he cast at the last election.—*E. V. Debs.*

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ANOTHER IDOL FALLEN.

Barnum spoke words of truth and wisdom when he said the American people loved to be humbugged. Dowie is the latest old humbug to pass under the glare of public exposure. This old hypocrite landed in Chicago about fifteen years ago a beggar. He claimed to be God's own appointed with the healing powers which Jesus Christ is alleged to have possessed.

Acting upon this assumption, he proceeded to gather about him a lot of mental and physical derelicts, from whose bodies the glow of health's vigor had fled, and somehow or other persuaded them into the belief that he could cure them—had cured them of their manifold ailments. In confirmation of this fraud he collected a lot of old crutches, braces, bandages, and the devil knows what not, and strung the walls of a great big hall which he rented to preach in, with these. The weak, sentimental, silly fools began to gather at the old hypocrite's meetings, and exclaim: "Great is Elijah III, prophet and healer."

After getting a number of the poor deluded creatures to hand over to him all their savings of a lifetime, he then reached out and bagged bigger game. He got fools with plenty of money but no sense: the result was that in a few years he amassed millions, lived like a lord, ordered his dupes around like so many cattle, lived with his old "girls," and had a grand time generally. Now the bubble has bursted and the old fraud is shown up in his true light. He is storming around like a Texas bull.

There are a few other humbugs in Chicago who are trying to ape Dowie. There is Hanish, who preaches the nonsense that people must starve themselves in order to get young. He poses as a man of 60 years, when any person, except the soft, silly old sentimentalists of both sexes, or rather no sex, who hang around him can see that he is at least 25 years younger than he claims to be. But the soft pates who hover around him seem to think they can turn back 25 years on the clock of time by following him and supplying him with their hard-earned money, so as to enable him to live on the fat of the land.

Another is Beilheart, of "Spirit Food" humbuggery, with another lot of silly women hanging around him, while he "sisters" them out of their few dollars and ——. There are a few other frauds still in Chicago, but they haven't succeeded in collecting a sufficient number of soft-headed women and sexless old men around them as yet to get an easy living for themselves. Doubtless they will in time.

The fool-killer seems to be the only person who never finds time to be idle; in fact his business is ever on the increase.

PROFIT IS ROBBERY.

"Profit is robbery!" repeated a manufacturer in astonishment. "Why, everything a man receives is profit; your wages are your profits; my profits are my wages—what is the difference?" His employe answered: "My wages are a few small, illy-ventilated rooms in a tenement house, cheap, coarse food, cheap clothing, no amusement, no recreation, for my ten long, tedious hours of labor. Your profits are comforts, luxuries, happiness, liberty, in return for six hours scheming for your own benefit. I produce in actual wealth more than five times what I receive; you produce really nothing that is of any real benefit to society, yet you and your class enjoy my purloined four-fifths without any compunctions of conscience. You may be honest according to the current code of morals; you may be kinder to your employes than the average employer, so personally you are not to blame, but systems that compel men to be rascals *are*. Society is to blame for calling injustice by wrong names. Law is to blame for legalizing robbery, and the distorted vision of humanity is to blame which sees no wrong in private property in the resources of existence. But, my friend, *systems only exist through the beliefs and actions* of men! The earth with its riches, the light, the air, abundance springing freely forth from nature, the houses, the factories, shops, palaces and marts of commerce which we have created in the sweat of our brows we intend to own and possess. If you stand in the way—if you insist on your 'rights' to take and hold them from us, then you become a part of the system and with it you, too, must go. Take sides with humanity and help free the world, or try to stay the inevitable and meet destruction.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A PRESS.

There is no way of building up a movement, strengthening it and keeping it intact, except by a press, at least weeklies, if dailies are impossible. The press is the medium through which we exchange ideas, keep abreast of the times, take the gauge of battle and see how far the class conflict has progressed. It is by the press we educate the public mind and link the people of most distant parts together in bonds of fraternity and comradeship.

We can keep track of the work and accomplishments of our comrades in no other way, except by the medium of a paper.

THE LIBERATOR is the only English Anarchist propaganda paper in America; for this reason comrades and sympathizers in all parts of the country should feel in duty bound to support this paper, write for it, contribute to its support financially, and make its success their personal concern.

The expense of carrying on a paper that costs as little as THE LIBERATOR does is trifling, if only a few active spirits would interest themselves in its welfare. There was never a time in the history of America when there was such urgent need for radical education as at the present moment. The rich are becoming more oppressive, domineering and arrogant each day; the people more depressed, despoiled and helpless. Every radical should try to reach them and educate them to a correct understanding of their condition in society; tell them why they are exploited, and the remedy. THE LIBERATOR is trying to perform this task. Comrades, will you help us?

L. E. P.

LAWLESS CAPITALISTS.

State Workshop Inspector Griffin of Ohio declares that the big iron and steel corporations in Cleveland make no reports of the accidents that occur daily in their plants. Yet there is a fine of $5 to $50 provided by law for neglecting to make such reports. Coroner Sieglestein says these corporations do not even report fatalities to his office, which is also a clear violation of law. This is not news to many people in this community, says the Cleveland "Citizen." The profit-grabbers in these corporations have little respect for laws—they ignore them whenever they choose. Their long suit is to join manufacturers' associations and in solemn conclave assembled denounce the "lawless" trade unions and the disloyal and unpatriotic workingmen who have the audacity to protest against being killed or maimed like sheep in shambles.

DRUDGERY.

Involuntary labor is a crime against nature, because nature has provided many natural penalties for the offense. That mother whose involuntary drudgery has resulted in producing a lazy child, has by that self-drudgery committed a greater crime than murder. What shall we say of that government and laws that enforces this drudgery upon many mothers? An exhausted father equally endangers the child. Drudgery is a lasting crime.

WHAT IS ANARCHY?

IX.

I was to show in this division of my essay that the common law of England (recognized by the Constitution of the United States as in force here at every point where it has not been repealed by statute) is, like that of the Mongols and other barbarians above mentioned, no product of an intelligent "social contract," no result of natural selection, but merely as might be expected, a summary of the crude and superstitious habits which became established under sanction of a superior power in a barbarous age. The subject may be introduced by a further analysis of laws under the heads of Civil and Criminal. On first becoming acquainted with the Criminal jurisprudence of common law, we might be apt to say there is none. The common law provides no definite penalty for any crime. This is never done otherwise than by statute.* And there can be no doubt that definite penalties for crime are that part of legal enactments which make most people suppose them necessary. It is not, however, correct to say that there are no criminal laws among those reckoned common. The distinction between *mala in se* and *mala prohibita* is that the former, though they receive definitely known penalties from the statutes alone, are recognized by the common law as wrong and punishable; while the latter are not.

Murder is a typical example of *malum in se*, smuggling of *malum prohibitum*. The indefiniteness of Common Law undoubtedly sometimes causes difficulty in telling which is which. Most lawyers, no doubt, would say that irregular sexual relations are *mala in se*. But I incline to think that it is not the Common Law, properly speaking, which condemns them. I do not believe that the pagan English of the fifth century considered it wrong for a man to keep a concubine, or for a woman to be one, or that they knew much about the difference between legitimate children and bastards. The whole conception of marriage as now established most likely came to them with what is called the Civil Law†, that of anything immoral about cohabitation between persons not legally married, with the Canon Law, introduced by Christianity. That flood of light which writers like McLennan and Lubbock have cast upon the origins of common law through comparative study of barbarian practices, indicates that the English, before their conversion, bought their wives and might buy as many as they chose; that the law of inheritance gave children a share in their mother's tribal property but not their father's; and that the only sexual crimes regarded as such were encroachments on the householder's right, as master, over his wives and daughters. In other instances than this we may find proof that the distinction of *malum in se* from *malum prohibitum* depends on common law, and that it has nothing to do with morality. Though some actions often supposed *mala in se* are probably not contrary to common law but only to civil or canon, it was never doubted that whatever is contrary to common law is *malum in se*; and we shall soon see proof enough that many such acts are not contrary to morality. The common law itself volves, as part of its criminal procedure, a few of those indefinite moral maxims which no nation, and indeed no man, will dispute; such as that it is wrong to take life without just cause and provocation, to tell a lie, to use wantonly offensive language, and that the prescriptive right of actual possessors should not be set aside without establishment of a better. But these principles are of no practical value, not only because they lack the support of defined penalties but because they are themselves so indefinite. Thus to recall the typical instance, murder is a crime at common law. But what is murder? and how do we know what it is? We know by the recorded and consistent rulings of judges who have, since "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," administered the common law.†† "Murder is the unlawful killing of a human being, with premeditated malice." Every significant word in this short definition has been elaborately expounded—and the result, we shall soon see, is *nil*. Murder is killing; the act of the prisoner (or prisoners, if more than one took part in the crime) must therefore be the sole cause of death. This is why the degree of homicide is lowered if the deceased lived long enough after the injury to make that doubtful. Murder is killing a human being (in the fullest sense). The destruction of an unborn foetus, or a monster, may be unjustifiable, but it is not murder. Malice is necessary to murder, and (here's another fault in text-book definition) it must be affirmative. Malice does not mean intention to kill or even injure*† nor does it mean intention to do an unlawful act (ignorance of the law excuses no man); but it does mean intention to do an act which is unlawful. Malice, affirmative or negative, is necessary to any crime, but except in cases of murder, negative will do. Thus it is unlawful for a person accepting a responsible function, as that of a doctor or an engineer, to neglect his duty or be grossly ignorant of what his business is. But death caused by such neglect or ignorance, though sometimes held manslaughter, is not murder. The malice must also be premeditated—a point of importance in English practice. By premeditation is meant reflection or the relation of cause and effect. Thus, in the case of a man who fatally stabbed another for insulting him: held, that if the weapon were within his reach at the time of the provocation he only committed manslaughter, because it is mere impulse for an angry man to strike; but if he took some steps in order to provide himself with a knife, it was murder.

This may seem clear enough, but across it all there sits a nullifying rider. Murder must be unlawful. And killing a human being with premeditated malice, as when a person slew a proscribed outlaw, *not knowing him to be one*, is not necessarily unlawful. We stand therefore before the question, What circumstance makes it lawful to kill a human being? The circumstance is that the sovereign power should have commanded him to be killed. So rigorously is this condition maintained to the exclusion of all others, that it actually is a common law offense to kill a person not branded as a public enemy, in defense of one's life; though recognition of this offense (excusable homicide) has long been obsolete in practice. That the sovereign has commanded the death of a fellow-citizen requires, indeed, to be proved. But the common law, dating from a period when war was chronic and universal, presumes it in the case of a foreigner. That it would not be presumed in the case of a foreigner now, is not due to any change in the common law, which admits of none. It is due either to statutes or to treaties, and how far it is from being universal may be seen by dicta like one in the Dred Scott case, which formally declares vast populations to have no rights our people are bound to respect, as well as by our whole practical dealing with nations not, in themselves or through their allies, quite strong enough to secure our respect. The common law principle that killing a fellow citizen is wrong unless it can be shown right, no doubt very ancient, since the earliest statutes above mentioned, by aiming to stop deadly feuds, imply that they were considered bad things, appears side by side with a common law presumption that killing an alien is right unless it can be shown wrong; and the phraseology of the common law proves that neither one nor the other was the result of a "social contract" but depended on the will of "a higher power," the chief, appointed to conduct wars of aggression, who knew it paid that his people should kill foreigners, and that it did not pay that they should kill each other.

To be sure the chief needed something in the people's feelings to work upon, and found what I have described as an indefinite moral maxim disputed by no one, that it is wrong to take life without just cause and provocation.

But all such maxims, I have also said, and right here is the proof of it, are too vague to be of any value. What should be just cause and provocation if not the necessity of defending one's own life? Yet the common law does not consider that enough. The law does not even consider it so in such serious practical cases as where an armed banditti, raised and paid by illegal conspiracies of monopolists, approach a peaceful meeting with deadly weapons saying, "Shoot the sons of b—s." What, on the other hand, is the smallest cause and provocation imaginable? Probably that the person to be killed, a foreigner, living ten thousand miles away, does not choose, at the first summons, to obey the same sovereign as the one who is to kill him. But that is enough, for the sovereign (presumably) orders him to be killed. The moral sentiment to which the primitive sovereign appealed for assistance in enforcing his edict, so convenient to himself, that citizens should stop killing each other has not advanced an iota since his time.** And it was then, as it is now, too indefinite to serve any purpose. The application, among civilized nations dealing with each other, has become very much more rational and thorough. But that is not due to any change in the sentiment. There has been none. It is not due, we have seen, to the common law, which utilized the sentiment for rulers' purposes. It is certainly not due in the main to natural selection; for though this may have done something by diminishing in each generation, the number of men disposed to fight, yet that ferocity which civilized men quickly develop when they come in contact with barbarians is proof that the time has been by no means long enough for this agency to alter their habits so much. It is not due to statutes or treaties, which but sanction all alterations in public opinion already complete—if they stick at all. It is due, as the great historian of civilization has shown (Buckle, Vol. I, pp. 129-163) to the increased prosperity, numbers, influence and intelligence, of the laborers and traders, who are little disposed to fight or govern but much to observe, experiment, and produce; and who usually ask nothing of warriors or rulers but to reduce their depredations to a minimum. With this progress, law and government, the offspring of War, have never done otherwise than interfere; and so have their reliable allies, those superstitions in which the moral sentiment first embodies itself.

*The common law, we remember, has existed so long that "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." But, at a time quite within record, there was no penalty for murder except retaliation by the family injured. The oldest statutes on the subject fix the amount of *weregild*, or compensation, which might be tendered instead of revenge. The death penalty, without alternative, for murder in the first degree, is attributed to Alfred the Great.

†The law of the Roman Empire (not to be confounded with civil jurisprudence under Common Law or Statutes). The Catholic Church introduced a great part of it wherever she was established.

††Not by the text-book definitions, which are mere summaries of these rulings, and often very incorrect. (To vindicate this bold assertion by an example, marriage was always defined in the text-books as a contract, until the inextricable absurdities produced by reasoning from that premiss compelled Bishop, whom other legal writers follow now, to say that it is not a contract but a status, which is quite the opposite). It was among the infamies of Gary's law to disregard, in the Anarchist trials, the plea that proceedings so open as those of the accused were no conspiracy. A conspiracy, he said, is defined simply as an agreement to do an unlawful act. It is. And marriage is defined, by just the same sort of authority, as a contract. But anyone who knows something about the sources from which these definitions are derived (and Gary does) must also know that many agreements to do unlawful acts are not conspiracies. An agreement to play poker is an agreement to do an unlawful act. An agreement to go shooting ducks on Sunday is an agreement to do an unlawful act. An immoral assignation between a man and a woman is an agreement to do an unlawful act. That there are no conspiracies is evident from the fact, very pertinent to the Anarchist trials, that while a conspiracy is a crime in itself there is nothing criminal about such agreements as these unless they are carried into effect. A woman cannot be divorced on account of an immoral assignation which was never executed. Did Gary, then, ever know an agreement which was not secret to be held a conspiracy by any judge, except himself, in the case which has damned him, as Thad. Stevens said on a similar occasion, "to everlasting fame, if not everlasting fire"?

*†Thus when the intention was to benefit and assist a person (as a prisoner) by an unlawful act (as blowing open the jail), if the prisoner were killed by the explosion this would be murder.

**A Maori chief told a white man: "If I go out with my spear in the morning, and meet a man, and run the spear through him, that is homicide, but it is not murder. If I ask him into my tent, and give him food, and then kill him when he is asleep, that is murder." If he asks you into his house, and gives you food, and you kill him after eating with him, what is that? I don't know. Ask General Funston.

C. L. JAMES.

THE OLYMPIAN GAMES.

The Olympian games in Athens, for which a party of American athletes will sail next Tuesday, are a revival of the oldest athletic "meet."

German savants digging in Olympia have found the ruins of the ancient stadium on the banks of the Alpheus, where for 1,168 years—from B. C. 776 to A. D. 393—the famous games were held. There is now not even a village at Olympia. It would be impossible to accommodate there the throngs that attend a great athletic competition; so the Greek merchant who set out to copy the ancient stadium wisely placed it in Athens. He followed the lines of the old stadium, which was 630 feet long, a straight-sided amphitheatre with one end open. The Harvard stadium has made its form familiar in this country, but the Greek example gleams in Pentelic marble.

Nothing in modern life approaches the honors paid of old to the Olympic winners. The games were held every four years, and time was reckoned by this period as an "olympiad." Truce was proclaimed in the Grecian world that the champions might freely attend. The games finally died of money influence and professionalism. When it came to four-horse chariot racing the rich man had the advantage; when a Nero could enter the lists it was not policy for subjects to compete too earnestly.

How do our modern athletes who are soon to tread the classic soil compare with those of ancient Greece? Not badly, perhaps. There is neither proof nor probability that Greek athletes surpassed those of to-day in stature. They were less highly specialized, being in this more like the English than the American athletic type. Leaping, running, wrestling, "putting" the discus and throwing the spear formed the "pentathlon" contest for all-around athletes which is this year to be contested for America by Martin Sheridan. It takes a fine athlete to do all these five feats well.

Perhaps the Greek youth fully equalled the American and English of to-day in natural sports like long-distance running and wrestling. The thirty-mile "Marathon race" was won at the first modern revival of the Olympian games by a Greek shepherd not scientifically trained. But Jeffries or John L. Sullivan at his best should have surpassed any Greek "pankration" boxer in science and probably in strength.

There is the story of the Greek father who, seeing his son drive a refractory plough coulter to its place in the frame with the heel of his fist, trained him for Olympia. There the boy was in danger of defeat, when his father shouted: "Give him the plough-stroke!" Rising on tiptoe he swung his mailed and weighted fist in the air and brought it down upon his opponent's head. But what a chance he thus left for a knockout blow at his own "solar plexus!" Types of the slow and heavy Greek boxers survive in statues. As for weight-throwing, we have an example of ancient form in numerous "discobolus" figures.

The Greek climate is probably too hot to produce the finest type of athlete. In the later Olympiads men from the north often won the games. The last victor of the old series is said to have been an Armenian from a land of snows.

Subscribe for The Liberator.

THE ANARCHIST SPEECHES

In No. 16 of The Liberator were commenced the publication of the speeches of the Anarchists, delivered in court in Chicago on Oct. 7, 8 and 9, 1887, when asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon them. These speeches are their reply. It was their last message to the world and must prove interesting and instructive reading to the most prejudiced as well as the sympathetic. Instructive to the prejudiced-minded, because no person capable of clear reasoning powers can read these speeches and lay them down, and then, allowing the innermost recesses of his heart to speak, he must say, "Those men were innocent of the crime for which they suffered death." They were victims of class hatred.

ALBERT R. PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from last week.)

Now, law is license, and consequently despotic. A legal enactment is simply something which authorizes somebody to do something to somebody else or for somebody else that he could not do were it not for the statute. Now then, the statute is the divestment and the denial of the right of another, and we hold that to be wrong; we consider that the invasion of a man's natural right. Mark you, we do not object to all laws; the law which is in accordance with nature is good. The constitution of the United States, when it guarantees me the right of free speech, a free press, and of unmolested assemblage, and the right of self-defense, is good, because it sanctions it. Why? Because it is in conformity with natural law. It doesn't require any statute law to provide such a safeguard as that: that is inalienable, and it is a natural right, inherited by the very fact of my existence, and the mere fact that it is embraced in the constitution does not make it any more sacred at all. On the contrary it shows how foolish it is to do by constitution that which kind mother Nature has already freely and graciously done for us. The more we are governed the less we are free. I do not believe your honor will deny that.

The law adibing citizen, especially if he is called upon to do something under a law that enslaves him, is an uncomplaining slave to the power that governs him. Imagine a chattle slave down south who was law-abiding, who was obedient; what does that mean? That means he did not have any objection; he did not have anything to say against the law that makes him another man's slave. Now, the workingman today in this country who says nothing, who makes no objection to any of these enactments, with no protests to make at all against these infamous things that are practiced by legislation that workingman is a law abiding, obedient workingman. He is a nice, quiet, peaceful, genteel citizen.

Anarchists are not that kind. We object to those laws. Now, whether the government consists of one over the million, or a million over one, an Anarchist is opposed to the rule of majorities as well as minorities. If a man has a right he has a right, whether that right be denied by a million or by one. Right is right, and the majority that sets itself up to dictate to minorities simply transform itself into tyrants: they become usurpers; they deny the natural right of their fellowmen. Now, sir, this would put an end to the law factory business. What would become of your law makers? Why, a human law maker, your honor, in my humble judgment, is a human humbug. Yes, sir, just think of these law factories that we have throughout the country, the legislatures of our states and the union, where they manufacture laws just as we go to a factory to manufacture a pair of boots! Why, your honor, the same pair of boots won't fit every man; how can you make a law that will apply to the individual cases of each one?

Now, your honor, I suppose that you would hold, like they did in the days of old—I don't know whether you will or not, but there are some men who would hold—that a man who would adhere to this kind of opinions ought to die: that this world has got no use for him. Well, that remains to be seen.

The natural and the imprescriptible right of all is the right of each to control oneself. Anarchy is a free society where there is no concentrated or centralized power, no State, no king, no emperor, no ruler, no president, no magistrate, no potentate of any character whatever. Law is the enslaving power of man. Blackstone defines the law to be a rule of action. I believe that it is. Colonel Foster, I would like to ask your opinion if that quotation is correct. Blackstone describes the law to be a rule of action, prescribing what is right and prohibiting what is wrong. Very true. Now, Anarchists hold that it is wrong for one person to prescribe what is the right action for another person, and then compel that person to obey that rule. Therefore, right action consists in each person attending to his business and allowing everybody else to do likewise. Whoever prescribes a rule of action for another to obey is a tyrant, a usurper, and an enemy of liberty. This is precisely what every statute does. Anarchy is the natural law, instead of the man-made statute, and gives men leaders in the place of drivers and bosses. All political law, statute and common, gets its right to operate from the statute; therefore all political law is statute law. A statute law is a written scheme by which cunning takes advantage of the unsuspecting, and provides the inducement to do so, and protects the one who does it. In other words, a statute is the science of rascality or the law of usurpation. If a few sharks rob mankind of all the earth, turn them all out of house and home, make them ragged slaves and beggars, and freeze and starve them to death, still they are expected to obey the statute because it is sacred. This ridiculous nonsense that human laws are sacred and that if they are not respected and continued we cannot prosper, is the stupidest and most criminal nightmare of the age. Statutes are the last and greatest curse of man, and when destroyed the world will be free. The statute book is a book of laws by which one class of people can safely trespass upon another. Without this book one person would never dare to trespass upon the rights of another. Every statute law is always used to oppose some natural law. (I am reading a few extracts from an editorial in the *Alarm*.) A statute is always used to oppose some natural law or to sustain some other equally vicious statute. The statute is the great science of rascality by which some few trample upon and enslave the many. There are natural laws provided for every work of man. Natural laws are self-operating. They punish all who violate them, and reward all who obey them. They cannot be repealed, amended, dodged, or ascribed, and it costs neither time, money nor attention to apply them. It is time to stop legislating against them. We want to obey laws, not men, not the tricks of men. Statutes are human tricks. The law—the statute law—is the coward's weapon; the tool of the thief, and more: the shield and buckler of every gigantic villainy, and frightful parent of all crimes. Every great robbery that was ever perpetrated upon a people has been by virtue of and in the name of law. By his tool of thieves the great mass of the people who inhabit our planet have been robbed of their equal right to the use of the soil and of all other natural opportunities. In the name of this monster (statute law) large sections of our race have been bought and sold as chattels; by it the vast majority of the human race are today held in the industrial bondage of wage slavery, and in its name our fair earth has been times without number deluged in human blood. By the instrumentality of this tool, cowards and thieves, tyrants and usurpers are robbing their fellows of their subsistence, despoiling them of their natural rights and depriving them of liberty. Man's legal rights are everywhere in collision with man's natural rights; hence the deep-rooted and widespread unrest of modern civilization. The only sacred right of property is the natural right of the workingman to the product which is the creation of his labor. The legal right of the capitalist to rent and interest and profit is the absolute denial of the natural right of labor. Free access to the means of production is the natural right to labor. Free access to the means of production is the natural right of every man able and willing to work. It is the legal right of the capitalist to refuse such access to labor, and to take from the laborer all the wealth he creates over and above a bare subsistence for allowing him the privilege of working.

A laborer has the natural right to life, and as life is impossible without the means of production the equal right to live involves an equal right to the means of production. The legal right of the capitalist is virtually the assertion that one man has a greater right to life than another man, since it denies the equality of natural conditions. Our present social system, therefore, is based upon the legalization of robbery, slavery and murder. The laborer who does not get more than a bare subsistence as the fruit of his toil is robbed. The laborer who is forced to beg for work and has to accept it on any terms or starve is a slave. The laborer who, being unable to get work, but who in turn has too much manhood to beg, steal, or become a pauper, is by the refined process of slow starvation murdered.

Laws—just laws—natural laws—are not made, they are discovered; law enacting is an insult to divine intelligence; and law enforcing is the impeachment of God's integrity and his power. I make, as an Anarchist, this declaration for the benefit of our Christian ministry, who, while professing loyalty to God's laws, never forget to pray and work for the supremacy of man's law and man's government—those pious frauds who profess their faith in the "power" of God, while they employ the police, the militia, and other armed hirelings to enforce their man-made laws and maintain their "power" over their fellowmen. Oh, consistency, indeed thou art a jewel! These hypocrites always did, and do today employ brute force to compel their fellowmen to obey and serve them, while they whine and snivel behind their sanctimonious masks about their "love of man and the power of God." I hope some of them will preach in their pulpits next Sunday morning on this topic.

In the opinion of an Anarchist, the sum total of human life is expressed in one word—authority. The economic regulates and controls the social status of man; the mode and manner of procuring our livelihood affects our whole life; the all-pervading cause is economic not political, moral, or religious and social institutions of every kind and degree result from, grow out of, and are created by the economic or industrial regulations of society. Every human being, consciously or unconsciously, is affected and controlled by it in what they think or say or do. There is no escape; no evasion from its consequences. It is logic. It is cause and effect. Evil exists on every hand; the well disposed, philanthropic, and generous, and the good seek relief from these evil influences by moral suasion, by self-denial, by religion, by politics, etc., etc., but in vain, in vain! The evils remain, and not only remain, but grow worse and worse. Why, if the fountain is corrupt, can the stream be pure? If the cause remains, must not the effects follow? Jails, judges, and executioners, police, armies and navies, pestilence, misery and ignorance and debauchery, and evils of all kinds of high and low degree all flow from one fountain; that flowing fountain of human woe is the economic or industrial subjection and enslavement of man to man. Every human ill is produced by the denial or the violation of man's natural rights or by the neglect or refusal of man to conform his life to the requirements of nature. Wickedness, wretchedness, ignorance, vice, crime, poverty are the penalties which nature inflicts upon her disobedient children. The natural man is a happy man. He is virtuous and right; truly so. Whoever violates the right of another, sooner or later punishes himself. Nature is inexorable. From her penalty there is no escape. But in a court of law—of so-called "justice"—if you are a member of the Citizens' Association, or if you have a big bank account, in other words, if you are a member of the propertied class, you crawl out of anything you want to, for law is for sale; that is to say, whoever can purchase the lawyers, stock the jury and bribe the court, can win. There is only one law for the poor, to-wit: Obey the rich.

(Continued next week.)

WHEREFORE WAIT?

(By Webster Rodgers.)
Member L. U. No. 155, Phoenix, B. C.

Oh, wherefore wait? The World is faint and dying;
Stay not thy hand; oh, strenuous soul and pure.
Oh, hear its voices calling and replying:
They bid you hope and work and long endure.

Oh, wherefore wait? The World is wrung with anguish.
From Russian snows our martyr comrades call.
Haste to the succor of the souls that languish.
Bind up the wound and break the captives' thrall.

Why idle stand? The harvest heads are bending;
Beneath the sun the fields are golden hued.
Thrust in the sickle and fulfill the ending
Of Earth's long travail for her famished brood.

This day the toil the harvest homeward bringing;
Then corn and wine and fatness in the store;
And trooping in with laughter and with singing
Shall come the heirs of Earth for evermore.

Oh, wherefore wait, as one whose eyes are holden?
Can'st thou not see the portents of the dawn?
Joy comes a Bride, and Sorrow, worn and olden,
Tralleth her mourning garments and is gone.

Hark! From the watch towers, hailing and replying,
Glad words are on the lips that long were dumb.
And prophet voices in the desert crying,
"Make straight her paths, the reign of Right has come."

Lo! In men's hearts a new Shekinah burneth,
That lights the mercy seat of humankind;
And as the petal to the sunlight turneth,
So turns to it the homage of the mind.

Light in the east! As once in Hellas beaming,
But brighter far does Reason's lamp return;
And grander than Aurora's light outstreaming,
Northward at last doth Freedom's censer burn.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED.

We have received the following pamphlets from England, and recommend them to all who are studying Anarchism:

Law and Authority — By Peter Kropotkin 10c
The Wage System—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Anarchist Communism — By Peter Kropotkin 10c
The State—Its Historic Role—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Anarchist Morality — By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Expropriation — By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Anarchism—Its Philosophy and Ideal —By Peter Kropotkin 10c
The Coming Revival of Socialism—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
An Appeal to the Young—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
War—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
The Commune of Paris 10c
Organized Vengeance Called Justice—By Peter Kropotkin.... 10c
The Superstition—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Social General Strike. This pamphlet should be in the hands of every wage worker 5c
Evolution and Revolution—By Elisee Reclus 5c
History of the French Revolution—By C. L. James..... 60c

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE ANARCHISTS' CONGRESS, HELD IN PITTSBURG, PA.

To the Workingmen of America.

Fellow-Workmen: The Declaration of Independence says:

"* * * But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf; in behalf of your wives and children; in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied. The exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalist) buy the working force, body and soul, of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages), and take for themselves (i. e., steal) the amount of new values (products) which exceeds the price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working force an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working force increase constantly, while the demand therefore decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon and absorb the labor product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle generally the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production, as well as trade and inter-communication, into their hands, and develop into monopolies. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration: The last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed—i. e., stolen—more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, are unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the producers unable to consume more than they receive—three-eighths—so-called "overproductions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is, therefore, necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains. As the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-calleld "civilization;" as the Governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers; as, finally, the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society—so, therefore, the international fraternity of people as expressed in the International Working People's Association presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production—in short, capital produced by labor—is changed into societary property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future exploitation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can everyone be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can supply their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes—be they Monarchies or Republics—form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding of the present disorder of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance, and servility; in short, want of sense. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeois of all countries—in America as well as in Europe—constantly commit, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeois will be of a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our master for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse—force! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right, it is your duty," says Jefferson, "to arm!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

First—Destruction of the existing class rule by all means—i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second—Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth—Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth—Equal rights for all, without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth—Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) Communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this idea let him grasp our outstretched brotherhands!

Proletarians from all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is organization and unity.

The day has come for solidarity! Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: "Workmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to win!"

Issued by the Pittsburg Congress of the International Working Peoples' Association, on October 16, 1883.

LIGHTNING'S TERRIBLE JESTS.

By Camille Flammarion.

(From "Thunder and Lightning," by Camille Flammarion, just published by Little, Brown & Co., Boston, and reproduced by special permission.)

It would be an interesting thing to make a careful study once a year toward the end of the summer of the habits and customs of thunder and lightning. Perhaps in this way we should succeed one day in determining the still mysterious nature of these elusive forces. I, for my part, have been engaged upon the task for many years. It has produced a big accumulation of records. Certainly, lightning plays queer pranks. Pranks they seem to us, but we may be sure there is some method in their mischievousness. It is the same with women. Women in their caprices are but obeying some law of nature. They are not so capricious as they seem.

Here is, to illustrate, a story about a fireball full of pranks:

It made its appearance in a room and advanced toward a young girl who was seated at the table, her feet hanging down without touching the floor. The luminous globe moved along the floor in the girl's direction, began to rise quite near her and then around and around her, spiral fashion, darted off toward a hole in the chimney—a hole made for the stovepipe, and closed up with glued paper—made its way up the chimney, and, on emerging into the open air, gave out upon the roof an appalling crash.

And another: Suddenly there appeared a globe of fire, of the size of an apple, near the top of the poplar. We saw it descend, branch by branch, and then down the trunk. It moved along the courtyard very slowly, seeming almost to pick its way between the pools of water, and came up to the door where stood the children. One of them was bold enough to touch it with his foot. Immediately a terrible crash shook the entire farm to its foundations, the two children were thrown to the ground uninjured; but eleven of the animals in the stable were killed.

Who is to explain these anomalies? The child who touched the fireball escapes with a fright, and a few feet behind him eleven animals out of twenty-five perish on the spot!

Here is another case of a remarkable harmless fireball which is often cited:

The abbe Spallanzani it is who tells the story. A young peasant woman was in a field during a storm, when suddenly there appeared at her feet a globe of fire of about the size of a billiard ball. Slipping along the ground, this little fireball reached her feet, caressed them, as it were, made its way up under her clothes and issued again from the middle of her bodice, and still keeping its globular form darted off into the air and exploded noisily.

Another frolicked into the bed chamber where an elderly couple were asleep.

The thunderbolt actually frolicked over the bed, leaving its occupants more dead than alive from terror, but quite unhurt. It passed within a few inches of their heads and passed through a fissure in a partition into an adjoining dairy, where it carried a whole row of milk cans, full of milk, from one side of the room to another, breaking the lids but not upsetting a single can. It broke four plates out of a pile of a dozen, leaving the remaining eight intact. It carried away the tap from a small barrel of wine, which emptied itself in consequence.

It ended by passing out through the window without further breakage, leaving the husband and wife unscathed but panic-stricken.

In 1898, at Courcelles-les-Sens, Mlle. Philomene Escalbert, aged nineteen; Adele Delauffre, aged twenty-two, and Mme. Leonie Legere, aged forty-four, were standing around a reaping machine, when a flash of lightning struck Mme. Legere and killed her on the spot. The two young girls were stripped to the skin, even their boots being torn from their feet. Otherwise they were left safe and sound—and astonished.

There is no telling what lightning will not do.

Sometimes it will snatch things out of your hand and carry them right away.

There is a case of a mug being thus spirited away from a man, who had just been drinking out of it, and deposited undamaged in a courtyard near—the man himself suffering no injury. A youth of eighteen, holding up a missal from which he is singing, has it torn out of his hands and destroyed. A whip is whisked out of a rider's hand. Two ladies, quietly knitting, have their knitting needles stolen. A girl was sitting at her sewing machine, a pair of scissors in her hand; a flash of lightning, and her scissors are gone and she is sitting on the sewing machine. A farmer's laborer is carrying a pitchfork on his shoulder; the lightning seizes it, carries it off fifty yards or so, and twists its two prongs into corkscrews.

Dr. Gaultier de Claubry was struck by lightning, with the extraordinary result that his beard was taken off him, roots and all, so that it never grew again.

At Fresneaux (Oise), a young girl of twenty, Mlle. Laure Leloup, had her head shorn by lightning. A wide furrow was to be traced on the crown of her head, caused by the electric fluid. Her hair was removed right down to the skin as though by a razor.

On Sept. 4, 1898, a flash of lightning lit up all the electric lamps in the Prefecture of Lyons.

Really it is extraordinary the queer things lightning will do! Death in one case, an innocent practical joke in another. I have hundreds of quaint records before me. Impossible to deduce any kind of law from them all. You are tempted to believe that the electric current has a brain.

In the course of a violent storm, a fireball came down the chimney into a room in a house in the village of Salagnac. A child and three women who were in the room suffered no harm from it. Then it rolled into the middle of the kitchen, and passed near the feet of a young peasant who was standing in it. After which it went into an adjoining room, and disappeared without leaving any trace. The women tried to persuade the man to go in and see whether he could not stamp it out, but he had once allowed himself to be electrified in Paris, and thought it prudent to refrain. In a little stable hard by, it was found afterward that the fireball had killed a pig. It had gone through the straw without setting fire to it.

Another prank of a roguish fireball:

After a tremendous thunderclap, a young man who was standing near the farm saw an immense fireball touch the ground at his feet, but it did him no damage, but passed, still harmlessly, through a room in the farm-house in which there were nine persons. The only effect it produced was the flaring up of some matches upon the chimney-piece.

It proceeded toward the stables, which were divided into two compartments. In one there were two cows and two oxen; the first cow, to the right of the entrance, was killed, the second was uninjured.

The same effect was found to have been produced in the other compartment, in which there were four cows; the first and the third were killed, the second and fourth were spared; the odd numbers taken and the even numbers left.

Here is an instance more curious still:

A violent storm was raging near Marseilles, when seven persons seated together in the ground floor drawing-room of a country house saw a fireball as big as a plate appear in their midst.

It directed its course toward a young girl of eighteen, who, frightened out of her life, had fallen on her knees. Touching her shoes, it rebounded to the ceiling, then came down to her feet again, and so on two or three times, with mysterious regularity, the girl experiencing, it seems, no other sensation than that of a slight cramp in her legs. Eventually the fireball made its exit from the room through a keyhole.

Lawrence Rotch, director of the Blue Hill Observatory, was in Paris in 1903. Looking in the direction of Eiffel Tower, he saw the summit of the edifice struck by white lightning coming from the zenith. At the same moment a fireball, less dazzling than the lightning, slowly descended from the summit to the second platform. It appeared to be about one yard in diameter, and to be situated in the middle of the tower, taking less than two seconds to cover a distance of about one hundred yards. Then it disappeared. The next day the observer ascertained, on visiting the tower, that it had actually been struck by lightning twice on the previous day.

We see that lightning is not absolutely inimical to points, nor to metals, but it prefers its independence, and he must get up early who would catch it in a snare.

It is an anarchist—it acknowledges no rule.

But we must confess that if spheroidal lightning seems particularly capricious, it is because we are still ignorant of the laws which guide it. Our ignorance alone is the cause of the mystery.

Another freak:

The lightning entered by the door of a stable in the form of a fireball, and came near a person who was preparing to milk a cow; then it passed between the legs of the animal and disappeared without causing any damage. The terrified cow raised itself on its hind legs with frantic bellowing, and its master ran away, frightened out of his wits, but there was no harm done.

Here it will strike a man dead without leaving a trace; there it will only attack the clothes and insinuate itself as far as the skin without even grazing it. It will burn the lining of a garment and leave the material of which it is made intact. Sometimes it profits by the bewilderment caused by its dazzling light to entirely undress a person and leave him naked and inanimate, but with no external wound, not even to a scratch.

(Continued next week.)

A GRAND PACKAGE AND TEA PARTY.

Is given by the Liberator Group for the benefit of **The Liberator** on Saturday night, April 21st, 1906. Address where it is to take place will be announced in next week's paper, so look out for it next week.

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Grupe Edelstadt Convention.

The Groupe Edelstadt is calling a convention to be held in Newman's Hall, 224 Blue Island Ave., Sunday, April 15th, 2:30 p. m. She is asking all the members of the different radical groups and organizations to be present, where the advisability of making a May Day Demonstration and an open air meeting will be discussed.

Liberator Group Meeting.

The Liberator Group will meet Monday night, April 16th, 1906, at 466 Van Buren St. All those concerning themselves with the work of The Liberator will not fail to attend. Matters of importance are to be considered.

Any Comrade having extra copies of the following numbers of The Liberator will confer a favor to the office by sending them in at once: No. 13, No. 17, No. 21.

Lucy E. Parsons of Chicago will speak in the following cities, dates to be announced later:

Lynn, Mass.; Boston, Mass.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Cleveland, O.; Pittsburg, Pa.

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